prove that neither wealth, nor position, nor can satisfy the longings of an immortal nature, that only faith in the Crucified One, an entire resting of the heart upon him, can give repose to the unquiet spirit, satisfaction to the everasking heart.

The writer has shown a full appreciation of the great object of living, and of the true way to beautify, ennoble, and perfect human character. It is written in most attractive style: the grouping is fine, the characters are drawn with spirit and originality; it abounds in fine thoughts, just and elevated sentiments, and deep moral truths; and is altogether a very charming book.

# WASHINGTON, D. C.

Office, No. 501 Seventh street, between D and one square south of City Post Office.

THURSDAY, JULY 31, 1856.

# THE ERA FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

The Era for the campaign, from the first of August to the first of December, a period of four months, embracing the most interesting part of the canvass, and the returns of the vote in November, will be furnished to subscribers, singly or in clubs, at fifty cents a copy. Will our friends see that the offer be made public in their several neighborhoods, and send us as many names as possible? It is just as important to circulate papers as it is documents.

### TUESDAY IN CONGRESS. The Senate was engaged upon River and Har-

In the House, the amendment of Mr. She man to the Army bill was adopted-yeas 91, navs 86. And the bill was then ordered to be engressed-yeas 89, nays 83.

Mr. Dunn moved to reconsider the House bill No. 75, to annul the acts of the Kansas Legislature, with a view to offer a substitute and called for the previous question. Mr Cobb moved to lay the motion to reconsider on the table, which motion was rejected-yeas 69, nays 93, The House then agreed to reconsider. But the Era went to press before further action took place.

### OLIVER'S REPORT.

Mr. Oliver, of Missouri, comes to the follow ing conclusions, in his minority report, as one of the Kansas Investigating Committee:

"In conclusion, the undersigned begs to re port the following facts and conclusions, as he believes, established by the testimony, and sanctioned by the law:

First. That at the first election held in the Territory under the organic act, for Delegate to Congress, Gen. John W. Whitfield received a plurality of the legal votes cast, and was duly elected such Delegate, as stated in the majority

cond. That the Territorial Legislature was pass valid laws, and their enactments are there-fore valid.

Third. That these laws, when appealed to, law and order in the Territory. " Fourth. That the election under which the

sitting Delegate, John W. Whitfield, was held,

regarded as a valid election.
"Fifth. That as said Whitfield, at said elecwithout opposition, he number of legal votes

Delegate to this body, and is entitled to a scat " Sixth. That the election under which the

contesting Delegate, Andrew H. Reeder, claims his seat, was not held under any law, but in contemptuous disregard of all law; and that it should only be regarded as the expression of a band of malcontents and revolutionists, and consequently should be wholly disregarded by the House.

Reeder received a greater number of votes of resident citizens on the 9th than J. W. Whitfield did on the 1st of October, 1855, no testimony was taken by the Committee, so far as the undersigned knows, nor is it material to

"All of which is respectfully submitted.
"M. OLIVER."

Mr. Oliver resides on the borders of Kansas his constituents, though not all, are the very "Border Ruffians" themselves; and it was proven before the Committee, that Mr. Oliver. a Representative in Congress then, as he is now, was at the election at Hays's, in the Fifteenth district, made a speech, and urged or defended the right of his Missouri constituents to vote. Messrs. Howard and Sherman the majority of the Committee, refer in their

Fifteenth District.-The election in this

district was held in the house of a Mr. Hays. On the day of election, a crowd of from 400 to the great body were citizens of Missouri. One of the judges of election, in his testimony, states that the strangers commenced crowding around the polls, and then the residents left. tion day, that there should be no Free State candidates, although there were nearly or quite as many Free State as Pro-Slavery men resident in the district. Most of the crowd were drinking and carousing, cursing the Abolition-ists, and threatening the only Free State judge of election. A majority of those who voted wore hemp in their button-holes, and their pass-word was 'all right on the hemp!' Many of the Missourians were known and named by the witness. Several speeches were made by them at the polls, and amongst those who spoke were Major Oliver, one of our Committee, Col. Burns, and Lalan Williams, of Platte county. Major Oliver urged upon all present to use no harsh words, and expressed the hope that nothing would be said or done to harm the feelings of the most sensitive on the other side. He gave some grounds, based on the Misscuri Compromise, in regard to the right of voting, and was understood to excuse the Missourians for voting. Your Committee are satisfied that he did not vote."

These amiable gentlemen exonerate their colleague from the imputation of so gross a violation of law as that of voting in the Territory would amount to; but is he a whit less culpable for refraining from what he urged others to do? We think not. We think it would have been more manly to have set them the

Of course, it could not be expected that Mr. Oliver, thus circumstanced, a representative of the Missouri borderers, and an aider and abettor in their invasious of Kansas, could come to different conclusions. We think there was a manifest impropriety, a want of delicacy, exhibited, in his taking the office of Commissioner, to investigate a matter in which his constituents and himself were the very parties implicated. But be was not a mere passive recipient of the office. He sought it earnestly. and the whole South backed his application, so that Mr. Banks, who in a spirit of magnanimity which has never characterized the Pro-Slavery party, yielded to their urgent solicitations. We think he acted unwisely. The mi-

The author's object is to point out to the young exerted upon him by the fact that the great girl the dangers to which she is most exposed, body of his constituents are the chief offendand give her aspirations the right direction; to ers. It is requiring something more than Roman virtue and firmness to expect a man to beauty, nor intellectual power, nor even love, judge fairly and dispassionately in his own and avert the danger of violence or outbrea

# PRESIDENT PIERCE AND GOV. REEDER-

Among the mass of evidence accompanying the Report of the Kansas Investigating Committee, just published, is that of the Hon. A. H. Reeder. We have not room for the whole of his interesting testimony, but the following statements are too important to be passed over in

1854, subsequent to the November election, he wrote to the President private letters, fully detailing the outrageous invasion by the Missourians, in the fullest confidence that he was anxrians, in the fullest confidence that he was anxious to have the laws faithfully executed. Governor R. also wrote to the President early in 1855, prior to the election of March 30th, mutually upon the correspondence. He rethat the same scenes of violence and outrage were to be repeated. After the election, which was carried precisely like that of November, by Missouri votes, in violation of law, and in subversion of the Territorial Government, Governor Reeder came to Washington, and, in familiar conversations with the President, gave him the fullest details of everything. He goes "The President, in our interviews, expressed

himself highly pleased and satisfied with my course, and in the most unequivocal language approved and endorsed all I had done. He expressed some regret, however, that my speech in Easton had omitted all allusion to the illegalities of the Emigrant Aid Society, and thought ganues of the Emigrant Aid Society, and thought it was perhaps unnecessarily strong in its denunciation of the Missouri invasion. I told him I had no knowledge of the operations of the Emigrant Aid Company, except what was before the whole public; and so long as they had not sent out men merely to vote and so to not sent out men merely to vote, and not to settle, (of which I had no evidence, and which I did not believe.) I could not consistently de-nounce their course as illegal. He stated that ing anxiety than anything that had happened since the loss of his son; that it haunted him day and night, and was the great overshadowing rouble of his Administration. He stated that the most pertinacious complaints of me had been made to him, and the most urgent demands had been made for my removal, upon every ground that could be got up; that General ATCH ox pressed it in the most exciting manner, and would listen to no reasoning at all. As to the charges of purchasing Indian lands and interests in towns, he said he was entirely satisfied as to the former, that it was all fair and hon-orable, and that hundreds had done so before ne-ridiculed Mr. MANYPENNY's objection to t, and said he had rebuked him when he talked him of it. He was nevertheless sorry, under the circumstances of this case, that I had made any purchases, as they made a pretext for my enemies to annoy him with demands for my removal. As to the purchases of town property, he said he was entirely satisfied, from confidence in me, that they were all right; but he wished me to explain them to him, and refer to the acts of Congress under which towns were laid out, so that he might be prepared to ip before him. I accordingly gave him all the nformation on the subject, both as to law and fact, which was in my power; and stated (what was the fact) that in no one case had I been concerned as an original projector in the lay-ing out of any town, but in every case had quired my interest subject to the cept that he thought the act of May 28, 1844, did not authorize the laying out of towns except on lands which had been surveyed. I replied, that the Commissioner of the Land Office had so construed the act as to recognise towns which had been laid out before the survey, and that Mr. When would so state to him, if he right and necessary; for it was idle to expect two years without towns. He expressed him-self satisfied, and the subject was then dropped. He wished no explanation nor found any fault as to the contract for half-breed Kaw lands; out, as I have already stated, he expressed himself, in strong language, entirely satisfied as to the fairness and honorable character of the

"The second matter to which I called his atention was the town site of Pawnee. I had nformed him that my proclamation named that placed for the meeting of the Legislature, and gave him as a reason for so doing, that it was remote from the influence of Missouri. He ap-proved of it very cordially; and a day or two thereafter, I complained to him of what I considered the unfair action of the War Depart-

It seems that Governor Reeder and others, ho were friendly to peace and order, were anxious to locate the seat of Government in the neighborhood of Fort Riley, at the town of Pawnee, on account of its remoteness from Missouri, as well as for its central situation in the Territory. But the Secretary of War. Jefferson Davis, in order to keep the Territorial Government in reach of the forays of the Border Ruffians, determined to frustrate that purpose. To accomplish this end, he ordered the own to be included within the military reservaion which it is usual to make around the forts or barracks. The survey of the reservation, it seems, had already been made by Col. Montgomery, who, on the ground, was the best judge of its convenience and propriety; and his survey had been approved by Quartermaster General Jesup. But Mr. Jefferson Davis, the right arm of the Oligarchy, instigated by Atchison and Stringfellow, no doubt, ordered the inclusion of the town of Pawnee in the reserva-

Governor Reeder proceeds \* \* \* "The two subjects to which I have alluded were discussed incidentally during our interviews; but the principal question which occupied our attention was the general political condition of the people of the of approval of my course, but expressed him-self deeply solicitous as to the probable conse-quences of my return to the Territory. He eclared that, in the excited state of the community, he was fearful of personal violence to myself; and that if violence was committed upon me, the whole North would be inflamed, civil war would probably ensue, and no man could predict the result. He repeated this, and enlarged upon it much and often; said that it would be a fearful calamity, the beginning of the end, &c., concluding with the opinion that it would be unsafe for myself, and for the country, that I should return to Kansas in the capacity of Governor. I told him promptly and decidedly that I would not resign the of-fice; that two considerations forbade me to think of it; that, as things now stood, the executive office in my hands was the only means of protection for the people against the perse-cutions and oppressions which had been perpe-trated, and would be continued, from the State of Missouri; that it would be base and dishonorable in me to betray and abandon them, and that no considerations of personal danger to myself would induce me to think of it; that, besides this consideration, the whole country had resounded with threats against myself in case I should return, and that a resignation of my office under such circumstances would be attributed to pusillanimity and cowardice. He concurred in this view of the case, and proposed to effect all that was desirable for the public safety and the public good, by removing me from office in a way that would obviate all my objections, and proceeded at length to give his ideas as to what should be done. He pro-posed that I should make to him, in writing, a

most full, satisfactory, and unequivocal appro-bation of my course; that while he would de-clare my removal to be necessary in order to allay the existing excitement, and bring about he would exonerate me from all blame in pro ducing that excilement; that, in order fully to testify the sincerity of his approbation, he would confer upon me some unmistakable mark of his favor, and went on to say that the mission to China would be very shortly vacant by the return of Mr. McLane, to which vacancy he would appoint me at once. To his written and swer he proposed that I should reply by saying, in effect, that I was not prepared to say he had acted unwisely. After considerable discussion and much reflection upon this proposition, I finally answered, that if we could both agree upon the terms of the entire correspondence between us, and if I could be satisfied that our quested me then to prepare my communica-tion, which I did, and submitted it to him. He retained it one day, and then suggested various modifications. After discussing them, it was agreed I should re-write it, which I did, and submitted it to him a second time. This not entirely meet his approbation, and he aga suggested alterations and modifications. I then informed me that despatches had been r ceived from Mr. McLane in England, which seemed to indicate the necessity of his retur ing in person to China, and expressed his feathat it would be out of his power to confer upone that appointment, but that he would fix some other in lieu of it, which would be equal or more desirable. I told him that the obtain ing of that or any other office was to me a me

After much discussion, and after Gov. Re r bad three times written out a statement vindication of his course, and of the conditio on which he would consent to decapitation, turning upon the admission on the part of t President of the integrity and propriety of l onduct, and the duty of protecting the Terri y from invasion, it was found impossible agree. The President was requested to speci his objections to the written statement of Go

them, the matter of another appointment

"He declined doing so; he said that t whole spirit and tenor of it was unsatisfactor that it appeared to cast too much responsibilit upon him. I replied, that it had been distinct lerstood throughout all our negotiations that would neither resign my office nor invite a re-noval; and that I did not see how I could, short of this, say anything less than I had written.

After some further conversations, it was found that the parties were getting wider and wider sunder. The President began to mouth about the Emigrant Aid Societies, and to show a want of the candor with which he first approached

"My reflections that night brought me to the onclusion that if I were removed our people would be left entirely at the mercy of their inraders, and that unless I could have some dis tinct and positive security for their protection would proceed no further with the presen negotiation. I saw him again the next mornthen, though entirely courteous, did not have that same amicable spirit which had characterized all our preceding interviews except that of the night before. I said to him that it was vident to me that he was about to make conrights against the clamor of the Anti-Slavery men; that I considered this a clear case of aggression on Northern rights; in whatever there was to be of concession or compensation, it should be made to the North, and not to the South. The interests of the North, the interests of the Democratic party, and the principles of truth and justice, loudly required it; and that if he would boldly and promptly take that course at this time, before the mass of the Southern people had taken any position upon the question, he would be largely sustained, even at the South; and that the longer the evil was allowed to progress, the more perplexed and complicated would the case become, and the more difficult of remedy. I failed to convince him of my views, which he rather evaded than answered; and finally told him that, as he could not agree, there was nothing left but for him to take the responsibility of his acts, and I of mine. He spoke of the dangers of my returning to office; me, so long as I felt I was in the performance of my duty. He said, 'Well, I shall not remove of my duty. He said, wete, I see you on account of your official action; if I remove you at all, it will be on account of your enculation in lands of the Territory.' I told

him they were not speculations, but simply pur-"After I had risen to leave the room, I remarked to him that the additional papers relating to the purchase of half-breed lands were now before him; that he had the whole case, and myself and colleagues were very anxions to have his confirmation or rejection of them before the 1st of June, as several of the contracts expired on that day by their own limitation. He re-marked that he had not had time to examine the papers. I then alluded to the town of Pawnee and the military reservation, which was an important matter in its bearings upon the political parties of the Territory, and in regard to which he had promised me to speak to the Secretary at War and the Secretary of the Inte-He replied, he would have no time to the vacation of my office could be satisfactorily adjusted, he thought all these matters could be adjusted, he thought att these matters could be arranged in such a shape as to promote my private interests. I felt insulted by the proposition to such an extent that I dared not trust my self to reply. I was conscious of a state of temper so angry and excited as to leave only the alternative of silent contempt or an angrand indecorous reply. I chose the former, and as I was standing near the door, with my hat in my hand, I bade him good morning, and left

There are other matters of interest in estimony, but we are compelled, for want of space, to omit them. We dismiss the matter with the single remark, that these revelations of Presidential weakness, not to say corruption. show the utter unfitness of the man for the sta-

# SHANNON REMOVED !- HIS SUCCESSOR AP-

POINTED. The President has at length yielded to the emands of public justice, by the removal of Shannon, as Governor of Kansas. This fact proves, indisputably, that the President and his riends are alarmed at the effects upon the Presidential election likely to result from a coninuance of the system of outrage and injustice towards the people of Kansas. The successor of Shannon is John W. Geary, of Pennsylvania. We know nothing of the appointed It is evident that a selection is again made from Pennsylvania, in order to appease the uprising indignation of the Democracy of that State, whose vote is all-important to Mr. Buchanan.

# RADICAL DEMOCRATS OF NEW YORK.

The Free Soil Democracy of New York held Convention at Syracuse, on Thursday last, should not have been from Missouri. He should not have been from Missouri. He should have been free from any merely personal bias. A minority report from such a man would have commanded far more attention than one from a particeps criminis, as Mr. Oliver is, to say nothing of the undue influences

should not have been from Missouri. He should adopt for redressing the existing wrongs, and an address to show what sort of influences were brought to show the solide provided was not sale.

The bill was lost on its passage, by the following of the spirit was not made by Captain Pate alone, as has been in the case.

Although we are not among those who regard to the volutions in Virginia, near Washington, and would take upon the should adopt for redressing the existing wrongs, and ad

### THE BALANCE OF POWER.

Nothing could be more idle than the attempt to preserve an even balance of power between the North and the South - a contest waged against the laws of political and social economy, which are as much the laws of nature as those which regulate the planetary system or the circulation of the blood. It is contending with God and nature, to attempt to keep up an equality of political power between the free ryland, Know Nothing, and Mr. Cullen of Del-States and those which tolerate Slavery. Each aware. The Republicans, in a body, all from social system has its law of progress, its ratio of increase; and it is useless by anything short of the interposition of the hand of despotic power to cramp the buoyant energies of the one, or to invigorate the decadent tendencies

If we examine the history of the country from the formation of the Government to the present time, we shall find a regular increase of Northern or free State superiority over the South or slave States. This can be convenient. ly illustrated by a table, showing the number of Presidential Electors which the several States in each section of the Union have been entitled to, under each Census:

	SUS	BUS	sus	sus	sus	Cen-	sus
	790.	1600.	1810.		1830.	1840.	1850.
Maine	-	-	-	9			5
New Hampshire		7	8	8	7	6	
Vermont	4	6	8	7	.7	6	13
Massachusetts	16	19	22	15	14	12	
Rhode Island	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Connecticut	9	9	9	8	8	6	6
New York	12	19	29	36	42	36	35
New Jersey	7	8	8	8	8	7	7
Pennsylvania	15	20	25	28	30	26	27
Ohio	-	3	8	16	21	23	23
Indiana	-	-	3	5	9	12	13
Illinois	_	-	_	3	5	9	11
Michigan	_	_	-	_	3	5	6
Wisconsin	_	-	-	_	_	_	5
Iowa	_	_	-	_	_	_	4
California	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
	73	95	124	147	168	161	176
Delaware	3	3	4	3	3	3	3
Maryland	10	11	11	11	10	8	8
Virginia	21	24	25	24	23	17	15
North Carolina	12	14	15	15	15	11	10
South Carolina	8	10	11	11	11	9	8
Georgia	4	6	8	9	11	10	10
Florida	_	_	_	_	_	_	3
Alabama	_	_	_	5	7	9	9
Mississippi	_	_	_	3	4	6	7
Louisiana	_	_	3	5	5	. 6	6
Texas	_	-	-	_	-	_	4
Tennessee	3	5	8	11	15	13	12
Kentucky	4	8	12	14	15	12	12
				3	4	7	9
	_						
Missouri Arkansas	_	=	_	_	3	3	4

From the foregoing table it will be seen that, ander the first census, the free States had an electoral majority of 8, under the second cen-BUE 16, under the third census 27, under the person of mark, and was proud of the notoriety fourth census 33, under the fifth census 42, under the sixth census 47, under the seventh cen-

These figures would seem to show an irregu-It arises from the greater populations represented by each electoral vote in the later periods.

ern electoral vote, while, under the apportionment of 1850, it has risen to very nearly one half! Does this look like preserving the balance of power? We submit it to the dreamcessions in the wrong direction; that he was ers of a "balance of power," to cipher out, by perfectly aware that in all previous angry timent, I had favored the compromises which had satisfied the South, and had secured their vote; or, in other words, how long before the

Censu			majority.	Southern Elec- toral vote.	Ratio.
1790			- 8	65	8 1-8
1800			- 16	81	5 1-16
1810			- 27	97	
1820		٠	- 33		3 5-11
1830			- 42	126	3
1840			- 47		2 20-47
1850			- 56	120	2 1-7

an equality with the North in political power. But there are additional facts to be brought into view, which place the matter still further beyond the range of possibility. In the first Kansas) which tolerates Slavery. But that stely, as I am charged—and this is add cold and inaccessible region has no natural adaptation to Slavery, and it can never flourish there. The profligate horde of Mormons, who for the time hold possession of it, have doubtlese admitted Slavery into their Constitution. for the purpose of propitiating the ruling class in the country, with the hope of being admitted into the Union as a State. But Mormonism. to say nothing of Slavery, will be sufficient to keep them in their Territorial condition for many years to come. New Mexico is too sterile and inaccessible for either Slavery or Freedom to flourish, and will either remain in its Territorial condition, or be admitted as a free State. Kansas is therefore the only Territory where Slavery can thrive, and in fact it has only a nominal existence there. Its chances of admission as a slave State are exceedingly remote, as nothing but the election of Buchanan can secure that result.

On the side of the North, the case is quite different. Already Minnesota is fully ripe for assuming the duties and responsibilities of a free State, and will probably be admitted into the Union at the next session of Congress Oregon, also, is preparing to become a State; and although the Administration may be weak and wicked enough, we have little fear that it can force Slavery upon that high northern Territory. In fact, the Ordinance of 1787 has been extended over it, and has effectually secured its settlement by freemen. Washington, which lies north of Oregon, is still more secure from the blighting influence of Slavery, and will, within two or three years, be admitted into the Union as a State. Nebraska, lying contiguous to the free and vigorous State of Iowa, is also out of danger of being cursed by Slavery, and will have the requisite population for admission into the Union as a State, in two, or, at most, three years. Here, then, are four free Territories which, within three years, will infallibly become States of the Union; while beyond the proper limits of States to be formed out of Nebraska and Minnesota Territories, there is room for half a dozen more, to say nothing of those to be made by subdivisions of Oregon and Washington.

It is therefore the merest imbecility to talk onger of preserving the balance of power between the North and South. That balance never existed, and the approximation to it has every year grown more and more remote, from the foundation of the Government to the present

### ANALYSIS OF THE VOTE ON THE BROOKS EXPULSION CASE.

It will be interesting to the public to see an analysis of the votes given in the above case, affecting so materially the freedom of debate. On the resolution for the expulsion of Brooks, there were 121 votes in the affirmative, and 95 in the negative. Of the former, only two were from the South, viz: Mr. Hoffman of Mathe free States, voted affirmatively, together with Broom, Haven, Whitney, and Dunn, Fillmore Know Nothings; and Hickman, Packer, Peck, Vail, Wells, and Williams, Buchanan

The minority of 95 was composed of the Messrs. Hoffman and Cullen, together with the Burlingame had charged in his speech, in the orters of Slavery, viz: Allen, Harris, and nia; English and Miller, of Indiana; Hall, of Iowa; Kelly and Wheeler, of New York-12. unkind feelings whatsoever for you, (Brooks;) Also, Harrison, of Ohio, Fillmore Know Noth-

Cobb's resolution, denying all jurisdiction of the House in the case, received 66 votes, felt bound, as a Massachusetts man, to condemn all Southern, except Florence and Jones, of Pennsylvania; Denver, of California; Harris, of Illinois; Hall, of Iowa; Wheeler, of New York. Carlile and Millson, of Virginia; affair. He says, further, that Mr. Burlingame Clingman, Puryear, and Reade, of North Carolina; Cullen, of Delaware; Davis, Harris, Hoffman, and Ricaud, of Maryland; Cox, A. K. Marshall, H. Marshall, and Underwood, of Kentucky; Etheridge, Sage, Zollicoffer, of Tennessee; Smith of Alabama, Evans of Texas, voted in the negative.

English's substitute for Cobb's resolution received thirty-five votes-eithteen Sonthern, and seventeen Northern. It declares disapprobation of the assault upon Mr. Sumner by Brooks, and at the same time disapproves of the use of language in debate personally offensive to any member, or to any State of the Union. It of course claims jurisdiction in the case. Yet Denver of California, Hall of Iowa, Ready of Tennessee, and Trippe of Georgia, who voted for Cobb's resolution, declaring that the House has no jurisdiction in the case, voted for this substitute!

## RESIGNATION OF BROOKS.

We omitted last week to allude to the speech of Mr. Brooks, made to the House of Representatives immediately after the vote for his expulsion. It was just such a speech as might have been expected from such a man on such an occasion. He evidently felt that he was a which he has acquired by his assault on a United States Senator. Like other persons who acquire fame by similar deeds, and who make farewell speeches to admiring audiences, there ar or declining rate of increase on the part of was that happy blending of sentiment and swagthe North; but it is rather apparent than real. ger in his effort, which never fails to call forth the admiration and applause of congenial spirits. He appeared to think-in fact, he boasted The following table table shows the rapid adsance of the Northern majority upon the total to the floor and nearly murdered an unarmed Southern vote. It will be seen that that majori. Senator in his seat, in a position which utterly disabled him, might, with another blow, have

"Sir, I cannot, on my own account, assum the responsibility, in the face of the American people, of commencing a line of conduct which in my heart of hearts would result in subverting the foundations of this Government, and in drenching this Hall in blood. No act of mine. and on my personal account, shall inaugurate to your own home, and hear the people of the great North—and they are a great people—speak of me as a bad man, you will do me the iustice to say that a blow struck by me at this time would be followed by revolution-and this I know. [Applause and hisses in the gal-

No one, after this, can doubt Mr. Brooks's devotion to the peace and harmony of the Union, or fail to feel grateful to him for withholding that fatal blow which would have precipitated all the horrors of a revolution! We breathe freer, as though a great crisis has been passed in safety! The following is a precious ad-

"Mr. Brooks, (resuming.) If I desired to kill the Senator, why did not I do it? You all admit that I had him in my power. Let me place, there is no territory where Slavery has admit that I had him in my power. Let me tell the member from New Jersey that it was expressly to avoid taking life that I used have a few slaves, and a Constitution has recently been formed (on the squatter sovoreignty principle which is so much deprecated in Kanasa) which tolerates Slavery But that employ a horsewhip or a cowhide; but know-ing that the Senator was my superior in strength, it occurred to me that he might wrest it from ny hand, and then-for I never attempt anything I do not perform—I might have been compelled to do that which I would have regretted the balance of my natural life."

It is clear from this that Mr. Brooks, hero as he is, cannot boast like another gallant son of the Palmetto State, (Pickens,) that he "was born insensible to fear." On the contrary, he seems fully to appreciate that opposite maxim, which, if we mistake not, owes its paternity to his friend Fallstaff, that "Discretion is the better part of valor." This admission of a prudent regard for his health would also seem to throw doubt on his assertion that the first blow given Mr. Summer was only "a tap," intended to put him on his guard." It is more probable, in the agitation of the moment, with the violent apprehension of having his cane wrested from him, that he struck with all his might.

Herbert, the Democratic Member of Congress from California, who has been on trial in the Criminal Court of this District for the homicide of Thomas Keating, an Irish waiter at Willard's Hotel, was acquitted on Friday last. The jury made short work of it. They were out but an hour and a quarter. The case being thus disposed of by a jury of our fellow-citizens, it may perhaps be regarded as presumptuous to question the propriety of the verdict, unless we had all the testimony before us. But, without any harsh comments upon the motives of men, we cannot but believe, judging from the prominent facts in the case, that much less than justice has been meted out, and that the social position and, still more, the political connections of the accused have gone very far to screen him from the rigid hand of the law. Herbert is a friend of the Administration, he is a native of Alabama, and this combined in his favor the aid and countenance, not merely of the Administration, but of nearly the whole Southern delega tion in Congress. This fact is demonstrated by the vote of the House of Representatives against inquiry into the affair. That vote was compos of the entire Administration party, North and South, with perhaps one or two exceptions, together with the Southern Know Nothing vote. The Republicans to a man, including those who still adhere to the "American" party, voted for

# MESSES. BROOKS AND BURLINGAME.

As weekly journalists, it is scarcely necessary that we should publish the voluminous correspondence which has grown out of the personal difference between Mr. Burlingame and Mr. Brooks, even if we could spare the space, since our issue will be anticipated by the daily press of the entire country. Nevertheless, as the public undoubtedly feel a deep interest in the matter, we purpose to make a brief statement of the case. On the 1st of July, Mr. Bocock, of Virginia

as the friend of Mr. Brooks, called on Mr. Bur-

lingame, for the purpose of making a verbal

communication to him. Mr. Brooks, in short, wished to know if Mr. Burlingame would "accept a call from him to answer for the offence ntire Southern delegation present, excepting he had given him." The offence was, that Mr. following Northern "Democrats," who are the House, on the 21st June, that Mr. Brooks "stole eculiar friends of Mr. Buchanan, and the sup- into the Senate, that place which had hitherto been held sacred against violence, and smote farshall, of Illinois; Cadwalader, Jones, and him, (Mr. Sumner,) as Cain smote his brother.' Florence, of Pennsylvania; Denver, of Califor- A conversation ensued, in which Mr. Burlingame stated to Mr. Bocock "that he had no on the contrary, regarded you as a man of courage and a man of honor; that while he disapproved of the assault on Mr. Sumner, and it, he had designed to discriminate between the man and the act." This is the report which Mr. Bocock made to his friend Brooks, of the disclaimed the boasts which had been thrown out in his name, and said that they had never been thrown out by him, but met his condemnation; "and if, after all this, you were not satisfied, and wanted his blood, he stated that he could do nothing less than accept, and would do so." "Describe me to him as you see me. Do justice to my kind feelings to him, and do justice also to my manhood."

Mr. Burlingame states that this conversation was reduced to writing long after it occurred : and, without controverting its substantial truth, he says: "However much it might be to my advantage to state the whole conversation as understood it, still, inasmuch as it was 'pri vate,' at Mr. Bocock's own request, I refrain from doing so." He further says:

"When examined, the statement disclwhat is to me now a source of satisfaction. It appears from it that I did not seek difficulty with any one; that I felt that no man—not even Mr. Brooks—had cause of complaint against Mr. Brooks—had cause of complaint against me; that I would not admit myself a violator of the rules of personal or parliamentary pro-priety, as I should have done, had I stated to him that I intended to insult Mr. Brooks or anybody else on the floor of the House; that I lisavowed the character of a boaster; that retracted none of my language, and was ready retracted none of my language, and was ready to give him satisfaction. I may well rest my-self on this statement of Mr. Bocock, leaving a generous public to view it in the light in which it was made. It will be remembered by Mr. Bocock that I expressly refused, in our subsequent interviews, to permit the word 'honor' to be placed in the statement written by my friends, and that, because of such refusal, he thought Mr. Brooks would deem it unsatis-

Contrary to Mr. Bocock's opinion, Mr. Brooks was satisfied, and "was impressed with the be lief" that Mr. Burlingame "was an elevated gentleman."

Two weeks afterwards, Mr. Bocock called again on Mr. Burlingame, and requested that their former conversation might be reduced to writing, and placed in the hands of Mr. Brooks. Mr. Bocock submitted such a statement, which was unsatisfactory. The next day, he addressed a letter to Mr. Burlingame, in which, among other things, (we quote the account of it given Ly M. Rurlingame,) he says:

"'The real point of the matter is, that you did not intend to reflect on Mr. Brooks personally.' After suggesting a number of ways by which this could be stated, he writes: 'It may be done by your saying, in reply to this note, that you did not intend to reflect on Mr. Brooks personally.' Again: 'I am sure you ought not to object to the latter course.' These few words disclose the desire of Mr. Brooks, through persuasion, to get something which might satisfy his friends for neglecting me in his liberal calls Mr. Burlingame referred the matter to his

friends, Messrs. George Ashmun and Speaker Banks, who agreed upon the statement appended to the speech of Mr. Brooks, as it appeared in the Union. It was not embodied in the speech, and no reference was made to the affair in it. This statement is a guarded admission of the substance of the conversations with Mr. Bocock, bating the word "honor." So, after all, it was Hamlet, without the part of Hamlet. But the card proved unsatisfactory to the friends of Mr. Burlingame, and Mr. Brooks and his friends are reported to have boasted of "backing him down" and of conquering Massachusetts. Mr. Burlingame consequently grew sensitive, and could not rest under such imputations, as was natural in a man of honor placed in his situation. He therefore publicly withdrew the memorandum, or explanation, by a note in the Intelligencer of July 1st; whereupon, the following correspondence ensued: "WASHINGTON, July 21.

"SIR: Will you do me the kindness to indi cate some place outside of this District where it will be convenient to you to negotiate in reference to the difference between us?

to the difference w. "Very respectfully, &c., "P. S. Brooks " Hon. A. Burlingame."

" WASHINGTON, July 21, 1856. "SIR: Your note of this date was placedgin my hands by General Lane this afternoon. my hands by General Lane this afternoon. In reply, I have to say that I will be at the Clifton House, on the Canada side of Niagara Falls, on Saturday next, at 12 o'clock, M., to 'negotiate' in reference to any 'difference between us' which, in your judgment, may require settlement 'outside of this District.'

"I have the honor to be your ob't serv't,

"A. BURLINGAME."

Mr. Brooks, immediately on the receipt this answer, instead of repairing to the place suggested, publishes the whole affair to the world, and declines to have any further to do Constitution of Virginia, and those of all the with the matter. He thinks that he could not go to Canada without imminent risk to his life. maxims of Freedom; and delighted with the through which it would be dangerous for him gives him and his friends, he glories in that to pass; and his friends here suggest, as an adwould have been murdered by the fugitive all who now maintain the principles of Freeslaves. They forget that the poor fugitives are a dom-the creed of Washington and Jefferson! return to "Old Virginia's shore," and that they and partisans in the slave States have tram-

course was to suggest these obstacles or ob- is modern "Democracy!" Shades of Jefferson desire to go to Canada, except that he was anxious, of course, to evade the laws. The It is further to be observed, in this connec-

tion, that Virginia and Maryland, the usual resorts of Congressional duellists, are still nority member should have been one of the atlest and most upright members from the South, a friend of the Administration; but he should not have been from Missouri. He should have been for from Missouri. He should have been for from Missouri. He should have been for from Missouri. He have been from Missouri and formally dissolved their connection with more hostile to an "Abolitionist," like Mr. Calhoun, the bill to prevent the circulation with the supporters of Pierce and Buchanan. They more hostile to an "Abolitionist," like Mr. Calhoun, the bill to prove the Allegany mountains did not pass and formally dissolved their connection with more hostile to an "Abolitionist," like Mr. Calhoun, the bill to an "Abolitionist," li

of Maryland are deeply embittered in feeling against "Abolitionism." Brooks was fined but three hundred dollars by the District Judge, for a crime which, if perpetrated upon a Southern Senator by a friend of Mr. Sumner, would have sent the culprit to prison, perhaps to the penitentiary; and Brooks's speech in vindication of the act was frequently applaud ed by the galleries, in spite of efforts to prevent it. These facts show that Mr. Burlingame would incur more risk from mobs for killing Brooks in a duel in this vicinity, than Brooks would incur in Canada, for killing Bur-

As to distance, objections on that score are rivolous. It is usual for duellists from the South to come to the vicinity of Washington, to settle their disputes. We remember the ease of Johnson and Jones, from the eastern part of North Carolina, who fought at Bladensourg in 1847. One of them, we are not certain which, was killed on the spot. They could not have reached the place of meeting in less | Territory. than two days. Mr. Brooks can reach Niagara in sixteen to twenty-four hours, by any one of hree or four routes, and no one would be the wiser for it.

We conclude with an extract from the statenent of Mr. Campbell. He says :

"It is proper to say, that the suggestion of the 'Clifton House, on the Canada side of Niagara Falls,' as the place, was presented by me to Mr. Burlingame. At first he disap-proved of it; and added, with some feeling, hat if Mr. Brooks was auxious to meet him to 'negotiate,' &c., he would, if necessary, go even to South Carolina. I insisted on the time and place I had named; saying to Mr. Burlingame, that if I was to be his adviser, he must be governed by my counsel, and that I would be responsible for my decision. Mr. Burlingame then acquiesced, stating, that if a communication was presented to me, objecting to the time or place, in his absence, I should charge either, or both, at my discretion. I deem a knowledge of the facts on this point alike due to Mr. Burlingame and myself, in view of the unexpected publicity which Col. Brooks has given to the matter through the

# THE TRUE POLICY.

The most vigorous action which the Anti-Nebraska party has yet displayed in the House, in relation to Kansas, was the adoption, in Committee of the Whole, on Thursday last, of Mr. Barbour's amendment to the Army bill. It is in the following words:

y, another know Rothing paper in Alabams arraigns him for professing directly the contrary principle. The Mobile Advertiser reproduces the following letter, for the purpose of proving that the Democratic candidate main is in the following words:

"But Congress, hereby disapproving of the code of alleged laws, officially communicated to them by the President, and which are represented to have been enacted by a body claiming to be the Territorial Legislature of Kansas and also disapproving of the manner in which aid alleged laws shall have been affirmed by the Senate and House of Representatives, as having been enacted by a legal Legislature chosen in conformity with the organic law by he people of Kansas, no part of the military orce of the United States shall be employed in aid of their enforcement; nor shall any citi-zen of Kansas be required, under their provi-sions, to act as a part of the posse comitatus of any officer acting as marshal or sheriff in

On motion of Mr. Wakeman, of New York. he amendment was amended, by adding the ollowing words : "Said laws, and every part and parcel there

Mr. Barbour's amendment, as amended, was majority yet cast by the opposition. But it will be seen that the attendance wa

tee of the Whole will not be ratified by the House. We sincerely trust that it may be; as the country will then see whether Cass, Douglas, and Toombs, are really in earnest in proposing to repeal the pretended laws of Kan-sas, and whether they really desire peace and fairness. In truth, a measure like this is the only one which can reach the source of the evil under present circumstances, with the Senate and President on the side of the ruffian invaders of Kansas. When they find that the Representatives of the People will not vote the public money to carry out the infamous scheme of making Kansas a slave State, by usurpation, fraud, and force, they will quickly be compelled to acquiesce in the popular demands just as the tyrannical Charles and Georges of England, in days of yore, succumbed to our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. "Withhold the supplies" is the true remedy, and the time-honored check-mate to tyrants. It is the palladium of the English people; the very stronghold of Freedom in the British Isles.

This is the fourth great victory of the session. First, was the election of Speaker Banks. after a struggle of two months; next, came the appointment of the Investigating Committee, which was achieved with less difficulty; then, the admission of Kansas, with her Free State Constitution, with no great effort; and now, the true remedy for tyranny has gone through ts preliminary stage of adoption in Committee of the Whole, by a majortty of fifteen votes! Let the Representatives of the People stand firm, and they will command victory!

### REPUBLICANISM "SECTIONAL." We very often hear from the oracles of " De

mocracy" sentiments like the following, which was the resolve of a meeting of that party in Franklin county, Massachusetts: " Resolved, That a party that cannot unite in

its councils representatives from all the States of the Union, to consult as to the public wel-fare, should not be trusted with the confidence of the people or the administration of their Senator Douglas very often indulges in the

taunt, thrown at the Republicans, that they dare

not avow their principles in one half the States of the Union. Surrounded as he is in the Senate Chamber by a large majority of friends to Slavery, he seems to forget, not only that there is a North, but that there is a Constitution, which guaranties the most entire freedom of speech and of the press. He forgets that the older slave States, at least, re-echo the same He regards the North as a hostile country, momentary advantage which the disgraceful fact ditional objection to the place chosen, that he ism which his Southern friends practice towards miserable set of starvelings, who are sighing to He rejoices and makes it a boast that his friends would hail Mr. Brooks as a deliverer—but let pled under foot the most sacred guaranties of the Federal and of their State Constitutions. We are surprised that it never occurred to because their tyranny and usurpation prevents Mr. Brooks or his friends, that the proper the diffusion of Republican principles! Such jections, and propose some other place of and Adams, of Franklin and Henry! What meeting. Mr. Burlingame had no particular think ye of this modern "Democrat?" Was it this system of despotism which ye gave your lives to establish? But Mr. Douglas is not alone, proposition to go to Miagara came from Mr.

Campbell, his second, who pressed it upon Mr.

Burlingame, much against his wish.

Mr. Buchanan, by deeds, has attested his approval of this process—of crushing out freedom of speech and of the press, as will be seen by the follwing extract from the proceedings of the

"NAYS - Messrs. BENTON, Clay, Critteden, Davis, Ewing of Illinois, Ewing of Ohio, Goldsborough, Hendricks, Hubbard, Kent, Knight, McKean, Leigh, Morris, Naudain, Niles, Prentiss, Ruggles, Shepley, Southard, Swift, Tipton, Tomlinson, Wall, Webster—25. It will be seen that Mr. Buchanan was trues

to Slavery and its despotic demands than sev eral leading Southern Senators, among them Clay, Benton, Crittenden, Leigh of Virginia. ginia, Goldsborough and Kent of Maryland, Every one understands what is meant by 45 endiary publications." They include eve speech or writing which questions the morality or lawfulness of Slavery. All such publication could, at the discretion of a South Caroling

postmaster, be burned or destroyed, withou consulting the party to whom they were ad dressed. The Kansas laws on this subject copied, we believe, in this, as in other cases rom those of Missouri, punish with fine and imprisonment the circulation of any writing which questions the validity of Slavery in a

Does it not come with an ill grace from party which upholds such principles, to talk of Sectionalism? The oligarchy mob and expel men from the South for professing Republica principles, and then cry shame to a party which cannot be tolerated south of Mason and Dixon's line! Cool, decidedly! Virginia drives fro her borders her citizens who dared to atten the Philadelphia Convention, and her door faced minions at the North raise their hands i horror at the idea of supporting the nom of a "Sectional Convention."

We take the following letter, with the com ments thereon, from the Richmond Enquire Let Northern supporters of Mr. Buchanan con pare the letter and the commentary of the Fquirer with their Cincinnati platform, and with the stereotyped speeches of Douglas, Cass, and their leaders generally, on the right of the page ple of the Territories to govern themselves BUCHANAN ON SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY

# Another Important Document

It is a remarkable fact, that while the opportunity sition press of Virginia accuses Mr. Buchanar of teaching the doctrine of Squatter Sovereign ty, another Know Nothing paper in Alabama tains that the sovereignty over the Territories resides in the Federal Government:

Washington, August 21, 1848. DEAR SIR: I have just received yours of the 12th instant, in which you submit to me the following paragraph, and ask whether it contains an accurate version of the conversati etween us, concerning my Berks county er, on the occasion to which you refer:

"Happening to meet Mr. Buchanan a President's levee, on Friday evening, I called his attention to this letter, and asked him if he atended to be understood as claiming that the population of a Territory in an unorganized ca pacity had the right to control the question of Slavery in such Territory. He declared that no such idea had ever been maintained by him: that the construction put upon his language b Mr. Yancey was a perversion of its plain and ob vious meaning; that, in his opinion, the inhabitants of a Territory, as such, had no political rights, [although they possessed all the private rights of American citizens;] that they had no power whatever over the subject of Slavery; and cept when assembled in Convention to form State Constitution. He further authorized and requested me to make any public use of thes thin; and it may be that the vote in Commitlarations that I might think proper, to cor rect any impression which Mr. Yancey's construction of his language in the Berks letter might have made.

With the addition which I have inserted be ween brackets, this statement is substantially and almost literally correct, according recollection.

In my letter to Berks county of the 25th August, 1847, I bad said, "under the Missour Compromise, Slavery was forever prohibited north of the parallel of 36 degrees 30 minutes and south of this parallel the question was let to be decided by the people." What people Undoubtedly the people of the Territory assen bled in Convention to form a State Constitution, and ask admission into the Union; and not the first adventurers, or "first comers," who migh happen to arrive in the Territory assembled in public meeting. If a doubt on this subject could possibly exist, it is removed by the next succeeding sentence of my letter. I proceeded to state: "Congress, on the admission of Texas, adopted the same rule," &c. And what was this rule? "The joint resolution for annexing Texas to the United States," approved March 1st, 1845, answers the question in the following words: "And such States as may be formed out of that portion of said Territory lying south of 36 degress 30 minutes north latitude, com monly known as the Missouri Compromise line shall be admitted into the Union with or with-

out Slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire." Such was the description of the people to whom I referred in my Berks county letter.

Any other construction of the letter would render it essentially inconsistent with itself. Having urged the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, the inference is irresistible, that Cor gress, in my opinion, possesses the power to leg islate upon the subject of Slavery in the Terri if, whilst asserting this SOVEREIGN POWER IN CONGRESS, which power from its nature must be EXCLUSIVE, I should in the very same breadth also claim this identical power

"for the population of a Territory in an unor-ganized capacity?"

In conclusion, I desire to reiterate and reaffirm every sentiment contained in my Berks county letter. I cling to the Missouri Compromise with greater tenacity than ever, and ye firmly believe that it will be adopted by Con Yours, very respectfully, JAMES BUCHANAN.

T. Sandford, Esq. The Enquirer remarks:

This is a formal and public exposition of pinion, and presents the deliberate conviction f Mr. Buchanan on the vexed question of the lations of Slavery in the Territories. In claim ing for Congress exclusive control over the Ter-ritories, Mr. Buchanan emphatically repudiates the idea of squatter sovereignty. But, in claiming for Congress this exclusive sovereignty, he does not imply that the Federal Legislature may prohibit or abolish Slavery in the Territories. It does not follow, that because Congress may legislate for the protection of Slavery in the Territories, that it may legislate for its abolition. he distinction is obvious and incontestable Indeed, the very fact that power is reserved to the Federal Legislature to protect property with-in the Territories, implies that Congress has no power to destroy it.

"GUILFORD, DEARBORN Co., IND., To the Editor of the National Era:

"SIR: Having been long in the Anti-Slaver cause, of course I have had to contend with many objections-perhaps none worse to man age than the apparent approbation given to Slavery by Washington and other illustrious men. But an idea struck me of late, which I do not recollect to have ever seen, which would certainly upset all their approval of Slavery, the foundation of which is, that every man must serve God and his country in his own day and

generation.
"Thus Washington and his associates estal lished the platform that every man was enti-tled to Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happi ness. It was unnecessary that they should sir gle out Slavery—it would die, of course.

"Perhaps it would help the cause, if some o

"Perhaps it would help the cause, if some of your able correspondents would give us a letter on our duties to our own generation.

"Another idea suggests itself to my mind, by reading the last Era: Is the three hundred thousand dollars for the wagon road, commencing in Missouri, intended to be a means of